

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

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O 102139Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3313

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 15373

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM, US, UR, OEXD

SUBJ: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - STOESSEL/BUCHHEIM - MOROKHOV/
TIMERBAEV PRIVATE CONVERSATION OCTOBER 10.

1. PARAGRAPHS 2 THROUGH 31 ARE REPORT ON A PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN STOESSEL/BUCHHEIM AND MOROKHOV/TIMERBAEV WHICH BEGAN AT ABOUT 5:30 P.M. ON OCTOBER 10, 1974 AT THE STATE COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN MOSCOW. PARAGRAPH 32 REPORTS A TIMERBAEV COMMENT TO BUCHHEIM FOLLOWING THIS MEETING.

2. MOROKHOV: AS YOU RECALL, MR. AMBASSADOR, I PROMISED TO GIVE YOU A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION OF A BROADER AGREEMENT THAN ONE CONCERNING ARTICLE III.

3. AS I SEE IT, ABROAD US-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS WOULD LAY SOLID LEGAL FOUNDATIONS FOR COOPERATION ON IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THIS IMPORTANT FIELD.

4. AS I ENVISAGE IT, THE STRUCTURE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD INCLUDE A CONVENTIONAL, STANDARD PREAMBLE, AS IS NORMAL IN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS BUT IN THIS PARTICULAR AGREEMENT WE SHOULD POINT OUT THAT PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS WOULD HELP CARRY OUT

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IMPORTANT TASKS OF A CREATIVE NATURE.

5. THE PREAMBLE WOULD MENTION EXISTING AGREEMENTS SUCH AS ON PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY OF JUNE 21, 1973, AND ALSO RELATED TO THE LONG-RANGE US-SOVIET AGREEMENT OF JUNE 29, 1974, ON ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION.

6. NATURALLY, THE PREAMBLE TO SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD REAFFIRM ADHERENCE TO THE GOALS OF THE MOSCOW TREATY OF 1963 AND THE NPT, AND ALSO MENTION THE ROLE OF THE IAEA IN THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THE PREAMBLE SHOULD ALSO REFER TO OBLIGATIONS OF THE TWO SIDES UNDER ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT. IT WOULD ALSO CONTAIN THE STANDARD LANGUAGE OF A PREAMBLE, BUT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THESE BECAUSE THEY REFLECT THE PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT.

7. AS FOR THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE AGREEMENT, THE SIDES WOULD DECLARE THAT BROADER AND DEEPER COOPERATION ON PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES WOULD BE ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY, RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. ONE COULD ALSO ADD THAT SUCH EXPLOSIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED WHERE THIS WOULD BE OF ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE, SUCH AS: UNDERGROUND STORAGE OF OIL AND GAS, INTENSIFICATION OF OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION, UNDERGROUND FISSURING OF ROCK FOR MINING PURPOSES; REMOVAL OF OVERBURDEN FOR STRIP MINING; AND CRATERING FOR EARTH MOVING OPERATIONS, SUCH AS BUILDING OF CANALS, DAMS AND HARBORS; FOR CONTROLLING RUNAWAY WELLS; AND ALSO FOR OTHER ECONOMICALLY JUSTIFIABLE EVENTS.

8. THE SAFETY ASPECT OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS SHOULD ALSO BE MENTIONED.

9. I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT THESE ARE AREAS WHICH WE FIND TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE (FOR THE USE OF PNE). SOME OF THESE PROJECTS CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT PNES, NAMELY, DIGGING BIG CANALS, FISSURING OF ROCK AND THE REMOVAL OF LARGE OVERBURDENS. SUCH TASKS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THESE EXPLOSIONS

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BECAUSE OF THE TIME ELEMENT AND ALSO THEY WOULD COST FROM 30 TO 100 PERCENT MORE IF DONE BY CONVENTIONAL METHODS. HERE I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION THE UDAKAN COPPER DEPOSIT.

10. SUCH AN AGREEMENT COULD PROVIDE FOR DEFINITE FORMS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION. I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT SUCH A BROAD

AGREEMENT WOULD DETERMINE OUR COOPERATION WITH RESPECT TO ARTICLE III. (TIMERBAEV INTERJECTED THAT THIS COOPERATION WOULD FACILITATE THE THINGS NEEDED UNDER ARTICLE III.)

11. WHAT FORM OF COOPERATION COULD WE ADOPT? WE COULD HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION SUCH AS DOCUMENTS, RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTS ON PNE, WE COULD HOLD JOINT SYMPOSIA, WORKING GROUP CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS. WE COULD ALSO CONDUCT SCIENTIFIC R&D WORK IN INSTITUTES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. WE COULD HAVE AN EXCHANGE ON PNE PROJECTS INCLUDING EXCHANGE OF WORKING GROUPS, SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS, AND PROVIDE FOR PROJECTS IN THIRD COUNTRIES WITHIN THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE V OF THE NPT. WE COULD EXCHANGE SAMPLES OF INSTRUMENTS AND OF EQUIPMENT.

12. UNDOUBTEDLY ONE OF THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT WOULD DEAL WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE III DEALING WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROVIDING THE NECESSARY INFORMATION, ETC., SO THAT THE PARTIES WOULD BE ABLE TO CHECK ON THE PURPOSE OF PNES.

13. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE NPT, THE AGREEMENT SHOULD PROVIDE THAT THE PARTIES WOULD TAKE MEASURES SO THAT THE BENEFITS OF PNE ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO THIRD COUNTRIES AS STATED IN ARTICLE V OF THE NPT.

14. THE DOCUMENT, AS WE SEE IT, WOULD MENTION SOME FORMS OF COOPERATION WITH IAEA AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES RELATIVE TO PNES.

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15. CONSIDERING THE SCOPE AND THE MANY TASKS THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO SOLVE IN SUCH A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT THE US SIDE, IF IT WISHES TO DO SO, COULD FORM WITH US A JOINT COMMISSION ON COOPERATION IN PNES. WE WOULD BE READY TO CONSIDER SUCH A POSSIBILITY.

16. NATURALLY, SUCH AN AGREEMENT MAY CONTAIN OTHER POINTS AND PROVISIONS BUT I ONLY MENTIONED THOSE I PERSONALLY THOUGHT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FROM MY POINT OF VIEW.

17. HERE I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS AND MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THE NARROW US-SOVIET BILATERAL ISSUE OF ARTICLE III WOULD BE EASIER TO SOLVE IN SUCH A BROAD AGREEMENT; BECAUSE OF THE SCOPE THAT I HAVE IN MIND, BROADER COOPERATION COULD BE CONSIDERED AND THERE COULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND OF OTHER ELEMENTS. IT WOULD BE SIMPLER THAN SIMPLY DISCUSSING ARTICLE III OF TTBT WHICH ONLY DEALS WITH UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS.

18. WELL, THAT'S ALL I WANTED TO TELL YOU, AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION. ANY QUESTION, MR. AMBASSADOR?

19. STOESEL: THANK YOU, NOT TODAY.

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20. BUCHHEIM: I HAVE ONE QUESTION: WHEN THE MINISTER STRESSED THAT HE WAS ONLY MENTIONING APPLICATIONS OF GREATEST EFFECTIVENESS, WAS HE REFERRING TO ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS OF PNES?

21. MOROKHOV: YES, I MEANT THE ECONOMIC ASPECT AND THE LARGE SCALE OF SUCH PROJECTS.

22. STOESEL: THANK YOU, MR. MINISTER, FOR THE EXPLANATION AND FOR YOUR VERY INTERESTING IDEAS CONCERNING A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BE ON A BROADER SCALE THAN ONE DEALING WITH ARTICLE III. WE WILL CAREFULLY STUDY YOUR PROPOSAL AND REPORT BACK HOME. IF THERE ARE ANY COMMENTS, MAY WE TAKE THEM UP DURING OUR MEETINGS? IT IS TRUE THAT THE US SIDE CONCENTRATED ON ARTICLE III AND WE FEEL THAT OUR TALKS DEAL WITH THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION AS PREVIOUSLY EXPLAINED. PLEASE BEAR IN

MIND THAT FOR THE US SIDE THE RATIFICATION OF TTBT IS AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM. WE NEED AN AGREEMENT DEALING WITH PNES AND WE HAVE TO SATISFY THOSE WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT SUCH EXPLOSIONS MAY HAVE A MILITARY PURPOSE, EXPECIALLY IF THEY ARE ABOVE THE THRESHOLD. WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL TO HAVE SPECIAL ASSURANCES ON THIS PROBLEM. YOU, MR. MINISTER, HAVE PROPOSED A VERY BROAD AGREEMENT AND I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS WILL HELP OR COMPLICATE MATTERS FOR US, BUT WE WILL STUDY IT VERY CAREFULLY.

23. NOW AS FOR THE QUESTION OF ARTICLE V OF NPT, WE HAVE NO COMMENT ON THAT BUT I KNOW THAT THIS IS BEING STUDIED IN WASHINGTON.

24. MOROKHOV: I DO NOT UNDERSTAND YOUR APPROACH TO ARTICLE V. I THOUGHT THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT ARTICLE V WILL BE DISCUSSED IN MOSCOW AND ALSO THAT ARTICLES V AND III ARE INTERCONNECTED. IT WAS NOT OUR IDEA TO DISCUSS IT. HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO MAKE IT TOO NARROW, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO SOLVE THESE ISSUES SEPARATELY. WE HAVE SEEN SUCH MISTAKES, FOR INSTANCE, IN THE CASE OF THE MOSCOW TREATY AND NPT. WE HAVE TO SHOW A DIFFERENT APPROACH AND TO SHOW THE WORLD HOW THE BIG
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POWERS DEAL WITH SUCH PROBLEMS. I THANK YOU, AND I THINK THAT WE HAVE A GOOD FOUNDATION TO BUILD ON. I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT WHAT I SAID ABOUT THE FORMS, THE AREA OF COOPERATION, AND SO ON, IS UP TO EACH SIDE TO DETERMINE. WE DO NOT INSIST ON OUR PROPOSALS. WE CAN USE THESE FORMS AT THE PROPER TIME. THEY MAY REMAIN DORMANT IN THE AGREEMENT FOR THE TIME BEING. THESE ARE ONLY MY OWN VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.

25. STOESEL: MR. MINISTER, THANK YOU FOR YOUR EXPLANATION. AS FOR ARTICLE V OF NPT, I HAVE EXPLAINED OUR DESIRE TO MEET YOUR INTERESTS AND SINCE YOU WANTED TO TALK ABOUT ARTICLE V WE PUT IN ON OUR AGENDA. WE HAVE NO FIXED VIEW OF THIS MATTER.

26. MOROKHOV: TOMORROW WE MEET AT 10:30 AND I WOULD LIKE TO SHOW YOU TWO FILMS ON THE SUBJECT. ONE ON A RUNAWAY WELL AND THE OTHER ONE ON A RESERVOIR IN AN ARID AREA. BOTH ARE ABOUT TEN MINUTES LONG.

27. STOESEL: ARE WE GOING TO LISTEN TO DR. SAFRONOV FIRST?

28. MOROKHOV: NO, WE WILL SEE THE FILMS FIRST AND I

HAVE NOT PROMISED YOU A STATEMENT BY SAFRONOV FOR TOMORROW. ONLY AT ONE OF THE MEETINGS. I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A REALTIVELY BRIEF STATEMENT AFTER THE FILMS. WE WOULD ALSO BE GLAD TO HEAR CONCRETE US STATEMENTS.

29. STOESSEL: PERHAPS NOT TOMORROW.

30. MOROKHOV: WE HAVE AN OPEN AGENDA, AND THERE IS NO RUSH AND AS I UNDERSTAND, YOU ARE IN NO RUSH.

31. THE MEETING ENDED ON A CORDIAL NOTE.

32. IN BRIEF REMARKS AFTER THE MEETING, TIMERBAEV STATED TO BUCHHEIM THAT HE HOPED WE WOULD GIVE VERY CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE POTENTIALITIES OF A BROAD AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN PNE ACTIVITIES AS A WAY TO ARRANGE FOR THE NEEDS OF TTBT ARTICLE III.

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STOESSEL

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